

## Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 BELFAS 00137 241056Z

14-11

ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 897

INFO AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNAVCOMMSTA LONDONDERRY

UNCLAS BELFAST 137

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, U.K. (N.I.)

SUBJECT: THE MEANING OF THE MANIFESTOES

REF: (A) BELFAST 134 (B) BELFAST 130 (C) BELFAST 128 (D)

BELFAST A-8

1. SUMMARY: NINE DAYS BEFORE ELECTION TO NORTHERN IRELAND CONSTITUTION CONVENTION MANIFESTOES OF MOST POLITICAL GROUPS HAVE BEEN ISSUED AND CANDIDATES BEGINNING TO ACCELERATE TEMPO OF MEETINGS. TWO MAIN CONTENDING GROUPS, LOYALIST UNITED ULSTER UNIONIST COALITION (UUUC) AND CATHOLIC-ORIENTED SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND LABOUR PARTY (SDLP), HAVE ISSUED RIGID MANIFESTOES AND IRRECONCILABLE POLICY STATEMENTS WHICH APPEAR DOOM CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS TO STALEMATE IN ADVANCE. MORE CENTRIST PARTIES ALLIANCE, UNIONIST PARTY NORTHERN IRELAND (UPNI) AND NORTHERN IRELAND LABOUR PARTY (NILP) COULD CONCEIVABLY COOPERATE WITH SDLP TO AFFECT ELECTION RESULTS marginally THROUGH USE SINGLE TRANSFERRABLE VOTE UNDER PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION BUT PERSONAL DIFFERENCES AND PARTY POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS PROBABLY WILL PREVENT FORMATION OF AN EFFECTIVE COUNTERBALANCE TO THE UUUC IN THE CONVENTION. BEST HOPE, GIVEN CONTINUATION

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 BELFAS 00137 241056Z

OF CEASEFIRE CONDITION, IS THAT DELIBERATIONS CAN PRODUCE

SYSTEM OF COORDINATED LOCAL GOVERNMENTS BUT DEFER ESTABLISHMENT  
PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. VOTING TO ELECT 78 REPRESENTATIVES FROM 165 CANDIDATES  
FOR NORTHERN IRELAND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION WILL TAKE PLACE  
MAY 1. THERE FIVE MAJOR GROUPS CONTESTING, UUUC - COALITION OF  
LOYALIST DEMOCRATIC, OFFICIAL AND VANGUARD UNIONIST PARTIES),  
THE ALLIANCE PARTY, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND LABOUR PARTY, UNIONIST  
PARTY OF NORTHERN IRELAND THE REPUBLICAN CLUBS. THE NORTHERN  
IRELAND LABOUR PARTY (NILP) HAS SIX CANDIDATES, THERE ARE TWO  
COMMUNISTS AND SEVEN INDEPENDENTS INCLUDING, IN WEST BELFAST,  
THE INFLUENTIAL CONSERVATIVE CATHOLIC TOM CONATY (REF C).  
ALL GROUPS EXCEPT NILP HAVE ISSUED MANIFESTOES AND NOW  
EXPANDING ON POLICY STATEMENTS IN SPEECHES AND PRESS CONFERENCES.  
PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN (PSF) WHICH POLITICAL ARM PROVISIONAL  
IRA AND IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY (IRSP) BOYCOTTING  
ELECTIONS AND PSF PURSUING ACTIVE BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN.

3. MANIFESTOES ALL MAJOR GROUPS CALL FOR ESTABLISHMENT STRONG  
LOCAL PARLIAMENT AND ADMINISTRATION. ALL BUT REPUBLICAN CLUBS  
AREE THAT ULSTER REPRESENTATIVE WESTMINSTER SHOULD BE  
INCREASED. AGAIN, ALL BUT REPUBLICAN CLUBS, EXPRESS SUPPORT  
IN VARYING DEGREES TO MAINTAINING THE LINK BETWEEN ULSTER AND  
THE U.K. SUPPORT RANGES FROM THE FERVENT, ON THE PART OF THE  
UPNI, TO THE MINIMAL ON THE PART OF THE SDLP IN RECOGNITION OF  
THE "BRITISH DIMENSION." IT EXPECTED NILP MANIFESTO WILL ENDORSE  
LINKA DN, FURTHER, CALL FOR CONTINUATION DIRECT RULE SHOULD  
CONVENTION FAIL. ALLIANCE, SDLP, UPNI AND SDLP CALL CLEARLY  
FOR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY IN FUTURE GOVERNMENT - READ PROPORTIONAL  
CATHOLIC REPRESENTATION IN "CABINET." UUC HAS CALLED FOR  
"DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED LOCAL PARLIAMENT WITH SYSTEM OF  
GOVERNMENT BROADLY IN LINE WITH PROVISIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL  
DEVOLUTION IN U.K. AS A WHOLE". - READ ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE,  
MAJORITY RULE, NO SPECIAL CONSIDERATION FOR THE UNIQUE ULSTER  
SITUATION IN THE U.K. CONTEXT AND NO "DONATED" CABINET POSTS  
FOR THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY. ALL UUUC CANDIDATES BUT ONE (JIM  
KILFEDDER) HAVE SIGNED PLEDGE TO FOLLOW CONVENTION WHIP AND  
UUUC POLICY IS FOR COMPLETELY OPEN DEBATE ON ALL ISSUES IN  
CONVENTION. THERE IS LITTLE UUUC COMPROMISE OR GENEROSITY ON  
THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, CREATION OF A SYSTEM OF  
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PAGE 03 BELFAS 00137 241056Z

GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED AND SUPPORTED BY THE MINORITY COMMUNITY.  
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND LABOUR PARTY HAS WATERED DOWN "IRISH  
DIMENSION," HAS IN RECENT MONTHS PUT DISTANCE BETWEEN PARTY  
AND DUBLIN GOVERNMENT AND HAS RECOGNIZED AND ACCEPTED "BRITISH  
DIMENSION." SDLP CAN YIELD NO RPT NO MORE AND MAINTAIN ITS  
CREDIBILITY WITH VOTERS IT SEEKS REPRESENT. EXECUTIVE POWER-  
SHARING IN NEW NORTHERN IRELAND SYSTEM SINE QUA NON FOR SDLP.

4. THE UUUC WILL PROBABLY WIN A MAJORITY OF SEATS IN THE CONVENTION. MODERATION IS GROWING BUT IT IS NOT RPT NOT YET PREVALENT ENOUGH TO MOTIVATE LOYALIST VOTERS TO SHIFT SO FAR AS THE ALLIANCE PARTY. THE NATURAL PLACE FOR THEM NOW WOULD BE WITH THE UPNI. THERE IS LITTLE HOPE THERE HOWEVER FOR VOTERS WHO REMEMBER THE "BETRAYAL" TO THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND AND ARE NOW GIVEN A CHOICE OF LACKLUSTER UPNI CANDIDATES. THERE ARE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE THREE PARTIES OF THE COALITION HOWEVER AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IN THESE DIFFERENCES LIES HOPE OF SOME PROGRESS. THIS "PROGRESS" IN FINAL FORM COULD BE DEFERRAL OF FORMATION OF A REGIONAL PARLIAMENT AND EXECUTIVE AND THE INTERIM ESTABLISHMENT OF A STRONG SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT WITH SIGNIFICANT ATTRIBUTIONS AND COORDINATED BY A "CENTRAL COMMITTEE" OF ULSTER POLITICIANS AND HMG REPRESENTATIVES. ENOCH POWER FIRST OUTLINED THIS BLUEPRINT (REF D) AND HE CONTINUES TO SPEAK ABOUT WHAT ONE LOYALIST DESCRIBES AS A "....MIRROR IMAGE, WE WANT A STRONG REGIONAL PARLIAMENT AND FAILING THAT, INTEGRATION. POWELL WANTS INTEGRATION AND FAILING THAT SOME FORM OF DEVOLUTION WITH INCREASED REPRESENTATION AT PARLIAMENT." THERE ARE THOSE ULSTER LOYALISTS WHO WANT INTEGRATION. THERE ARE ALSO THOSE WHO HAVE QUIETLY CONTEMPLATED INDEPENDENCE WITH INTEREST. THE LATTER ARE CLOSE TO THE PROTESTANT PARAMILITARY GROUPS AND PROBABLY DO NOT RPT NOT INCLUDE DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PAISLEY OR OFFICIAL UNIONIST WEST, TO WHOM THE LINK IF NOT INTEGRATION, IS IMPORTANT. PAISLEY, WEST AND MANY OTHER LOYALISTS WOULD FINALLY CHOOSE COMPROMISE OVER A BREAK WITH THE CROWN.

5. THE IMPONDERABLES OF THE CONVENTION ARE MANIFOLD: WILL THE PROVISIONALS CONTINUE THE CEASEFIRE AND THEREBY ENCOURAGE RELATIVELY RATIONAL DEBATE, CAN THE SDLP AND THE CENTER PARTIES FORESTALL A POSSIBLE LOYALIST STAMPEDE TOWARD MAJORITY RULE, HAVE THE ULSTER ELECTORATE EVOLVED TO PERMIT THEIR REPRESENTATIVES

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 BELFAS 00137 241056Z

TO COMPROMISE AND DELAY DEVOLVED RULE? WHAT IS CLEAR IN NORTHERN IRELAND NOW IS THAT THERE IS LITTLE HOPE OF A SYSTEM OF CENTRAL PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT FOR NORTHERN IRELAND SATISFACTORY TO WESTMINSTER AND TO THE MAJORITY AND MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN ULSTER EMERGING FROM GUX FORTHCOMING CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION."

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